

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 AMMAN 00897 01 OF 02 051258Z

53

ACTION NEA-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-03 EUR-08 SS-14 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03

SP-02 L-01 PRS-01 SAM-01 SAB-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00

H-01 ACDA-10 NEAE-00 /062 W  
----- 035420

P R 051132Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3736

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SANAA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 897

LIMDIS

BEIRUT PASS BAGHDAD

KUWAIT PASS DOHA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JO

SUBJ: JORDAN THREE MONTHS AFTER RABAT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 AMMAN 00897 01 OF 02 051258Z

1. SUMMARY: ON EVE SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING TRIP TO AREA, JORDAN ENJOYING RELATIVE TRANQUILITY AS RESULT REMOVAL FROM MIDEAST NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING RABAT CONFERENCE AND IMPROVED FINANCIAL PICTURE. GOJ IN DELIBERATE "GO SLOW" POSTURE REGARDING FURTHER CHANGES ON STATUS OF PALESTINIANS. ACUTE ANXIETY BY PALESTINIANS FOLLOWING RABAT HAS DIMINISHED BUT NOT VANISHED. GOJ NOW EMBARKED ON POLICY OF DELIBERATE EMPHASIS ON EAST JORDAN. MORALE IN ARMY GOOD AND PUBLIC CRITICISM OF GOJ IS DOWN, PROBABLY AS RESULT ACROSS-THE-BOARD PAY RAISES. COMING ISSUES ARE: A) PUBLIC SCRUTINY OF SUSPECTED CORRUPTION AND FAVORITISM OVER DISPOSITION NEW FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, B) INFLATION; C) DOMESTIC PALESTINIAN ISSUE AND, MOST OF ALL, D) MIDEAST PEACE OR WAR. END SUMMARY.

2. JORDAN IS ENJOYING PERIOD OF STABILITY AND RELATIVE TRANQUILITY THREE MONTHS AFTER JORDANIAN DECISION TO ACQUIESCE IN RABAT SUMMIT DECISION TO RECOGNIZE PLO AS SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF PALESTINIANS AND TO GIVE TO PLO RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURN OF WEST BANK.

3. DOMESTICALLY, GOJ IS NOW IN DELIBERATE "GO SLOW" POSTURE REGARDING ANY FURTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES BEYOND THOSE KING HUSSEIN PROCLAIMED IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING RABAT. INITIAL CHANGES WERE DESIGNED AS MINIMAL GESTURE TO SHOW GOJ CONFORMITY WITH SPIRIT OF RABAT AND INCLUDED DISSOLVING OF LOWER HOUSE (WITH EYE TO REMOVING WEST BANK REPRESENTATION) AND REDUCTION IN WEST BANK REPRESENTATION IN CABINET AND PARLIAMENT FROM 50/50 SPLITT TO A NEW 80/20. KING HAS BACK-TRACKED ON ORIGINAL SUGGESTIONS THAT HE MODIFY NATIONALITY LAW TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN JORDANIANS AND PALESTINIANS,(LATTER CONSTITUTING ONE-HALF OF EAST BANK RESIDENTS). AT KING'S INSTRUCTION, GOJ ALSO DRAGGING FEET WITH REGARD TO MAKING ANY SIMILAR CHANGES IN ELECTORAL LAW RELATED TO ELECTIONS FOR LOWER HOUSE, WHICH GOJ STATED WOULD BE HELD IN NOVEMBER 1975. GENERAL GOJ TACTIC IS TO AVOID PAINTING ITSELF CONSTITUTIONALLY INTO CORNER IN ABSENCE ANY OVERRIDING PRESSURE TO BE SO. THESE MINIMAL MOVES DREW PLO CRITICISM, BUT JORDANIAN AGREEMENT AT CAIRO QUADRIPARTITE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 AMMAN 00897 01 OF 02 051258Z

CONFERENCE TO GO NO FURTHER HAS TEMPERED PLO STAND.

4. WHAT HAS BEEN THE EFFECT OF RABAT DECISION ON LOCAL ATTITUDES? POLITICALLY, INITIAL ACUTE ANXIETY OF PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY HAS DIMINISHED, THANKS TO FIRM ENUMERATION OF POLICY OF LIBERAL MODERATION TOWARDS PALESTINIAN RESIDENTS BY KING. NEVERTHELESS, IN FACE OF INITIAL PRESSURES FOR BACKLASH FROM HARD LINE EAST BANKERS,

INCLUDING SOME ARMY ELEMENTS, MANY EAST BANKERS WOULD DOUBTLESS LIKE TO IMPROVE THEIR POSITIONS AT EXPENSE OF PALESTINIANS AND THERE HAVE BEEN SOME ISOLATED INSTANCES OF DISPLACEMENT OF PALESTINIANS IN BUREAUCRACY BY EAST JORDANIANS. WE ALSO DETECT AT LEAST A SMALL TRICKLY OF TALENTED PALESTINIANS IN BUREAUCRACY LEAVING JORDAN FOR BEIRUT, GULF OR U.S. FOR FIRST TIME, MANY PALESTINIANS ARE DESCRIBING SELVES AS "JORDANIAN-PALESTINIANS", DOUBTLESS AS MEANS DIFFERENTIATING THEMSELVES FROM EAST BANKERS, WHILE STILL SHOWING LOYALTY TO REGIME AND PROTECTING THEIR STATUS HERE.

5. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A FAINT UPSURGE IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. SOME DESULTORY TALK ABOUT POSSIBLE FUTURE ELECTIONS AND ABOUT FORMING POLITICAL PARTIES BY SOME POTENTIALLY ANTI-REGIME ELEMENTS SUCH AS BAATHISTS; AND SOME QUASI POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS. MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, FEDAYEEN EFFORTS HAVE PICKED UP, BUT GOJ POLITICAL WILL TO CRACK DOWN IS FIRM AND ITS SECURITY APPEARS TO BE AND PROBABLY IS EFFECTIVE AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING. FEDAYEEN EFFORTS NOW AIMED AT STOCKPILING WEAPONS AND REVIVING APPARATUS IN JORDAN FOR FUTURE USE.

6. GOJ EMBARKED ON DELIBERATE EMPHASIS ON EAST JORDAN PHASE. TO MEET CRITICISM OVER PREVIOUS EXCESSIVE PREOCCUPATION WITH FOREIGN POLICY AT EXPENSE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, PM RIFAI'S GOVERNMENT NOW HOLDING PERIODIC CABINET MEETINGS IN PROVINCES (IRBID, KARAK, MAAN) IN WHICH EMPHASIS IS ON GOVERNMENT'S DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND BENEFITS. (AT SAME TIME, GOJ CONTINUES PRE-EXISTING TIES WITH WEST BANK REGARDING PAYMENT OF CIVIL SERVANT SALARIES, AND MUNICIPAL AND PRIVATE LOANS, BUT HAS REDUCED INTENSITY OF OVERT POLITICAL CONTACTS.) THERE IS ALSO GOJ PUSH FOR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 AMMAN 00897 01 OF 02 051258Z

GREATER RESULTS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FIELD, PARTLY IN REACTION TO PUBLIC CRITICISM THAT THREE-YEAR PLAN HAS THUS FAR PRODUCED LITTLE CONCRETE RESULTS IN ON-THE-GROUND PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION DESPITE FACT IT APPROACHING FORMAL COMPLETION. THERE SOME EVIDENCE CROWN PRINCE AND PRIME MINISTER ARE WORKING SOMEWHAT CLOSER TOGETHER IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AREA, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE STILL DEEP-SEATED PERSONAL ANIMOSITIES BETWEEN THEM AND THIS MAY WELL BE MORE PROCESS OF MUTUAL TOLERATION THAN OF REAL COOPERATION. THESE DIFFERENCES COMPOUND RIFAI'S OPPOSITION TO THE CROWN PRINCE'S "INTER-FERENCE" IN GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 AMMAN 00897 02 OF 02 051312Z

53

ACTION NEA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 IO-03 EUR-08 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03

SP-02 L-01 PRS-01 SAM-01 SAB-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00

H-01 ACDA-10 NEAE-00 /062 W

----- 035575

P R 051132Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3737

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SANAA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 AMMAN 897

LIMDIS

BEIRUT PASS BAGHDAD

KUWAIT PASS DOHA

7. ECONOMICALLY THE SITUATION IS MIXED. FOLLOWING  
RABAT THERE WAS AN APPARENT DECLINE IN INVESTMENT,  
PARTICULARLY IN CONSTRUCTION, BY PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 AMMAN 00897 02 OF 02 051312Z

AS DIRECT RESULT OF UNCERTAINTY OVER FUTURE OF PALESTINIANS. THIS SITUATION HAS NOW SOMEWHAT IMPROVED AND FURTHERMORE THIS DECLINE LARGELY OFFSET BY WHAT APPEARS TO BE SIGNIFICANT VOLUME OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT BY EAST JORDANIAN BUSINESSMEN AND, MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, FROM BUSINESS CONFIDENCE ENGENDERED BY INITIAL JANUARY PAYMENT OF SAUDI RABAT SUBSIDY PLUS RECEIPT OF \$57 MILLION SAUDI GIFT, U.S. BUDGET SUPPORT AND SOME IRANIAN AID.

8. MORALE IN ARMY IS PROBABLY BETTER THAN AT ANY TIME IN PAST YEAR, CHIEFLY AS RESULT ADDITIONAL EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE. ACROSS THE BOARD PAY RAISES AND OFFICERS HOUSING HAVE REDUCED GRUMBLING ON BREAD-AND-BUTTER ISSUES. PROSPECT OF NEW INSTALLATIONS AND ARMS FROM RABAT SUBSIDY AND U.S. ASSISTANCE ALSO WELCOM, ALTHOUGH WE HEAR MORE AND MORE WORRY ABOUT JORDAN'S DIMINISHED MILITARY CAPABILITY RELATIVE TO MORE DRAMATIC RISES IN ARMAMENTS OF SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.

9. WE DETECT NO DISPOSITION BY KING OR JAF TO FIGHT ISRAEL UNLESS FORCED TO DEFEND EAST JORDANIAN TERRITORY AGAINST ISRAELI INVASION OR ISRAELI TRANSIT TO SYRIA. AT SAME TIME, KING IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT AVERTING WAR IN NEXT FEW MONTHS AND IS AWARE OF PRESSURES AND UNCERTAINTIES OF SUCH A SITUATION IN JORDAN. WHILE ARMY HAS USUALLY BEEN AMENABLE TO KING'S HIGH POLICY DICTATES, ARMY WELCOMED JORDANIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM WEST BANK ISSUE AT RABAT AND ANY REVERSAL OF THAT POSITION BY KING WOULD REQUIRE HIM TO LAY CAREFUL ADVANCE GROUNDWORK IN CONVINCING ARMY OF WISDOM OF THAT COURSE. ARMY MEANWHILE REMAINS INTRACTABLY OPPOSED TO REINTRODUCTION ANY SIGNIFICANT FEDAYEEN POLITICAL OR PARA-MILITARY PRESENCE IN JORDAN.

10. ON MORE IMMEDIATE SCENE, WE SEE FOLLOWING CURRENT ISSUES:

A) CORRUPTION AND FAVORITISM: CRITICISM LESS VOCAL THAN YEAR AGO AND ALSO, FOR MOMENT AT LEAST, SEEMS LESS SPECIFICALLY DIRECTED AT PM RIFAI AND CHIEF OF STAFF BIN SHAKER. CHIEF GRUMBLING NOW IS OVER CIRCASSIAN ORIGIN AND OTHER MAMELUKES SUCH AS IRAQI-BORN AIR FORCE CHIEF ABOUD, LEBANESE HEAD OF ALIA AIRLINES ALI GHANDOUR AND SPECIAL SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 AMMAN 00897 02 OF 02 051312Z

FORCES COMMANDER COL. ALAIDDIN. NEVERTHELESS, WE SUSPECT CORRUPTION ISSUE WILL COME BACK AS GOJ AND ARMY LET CONTRACTS FOR EXPENDITURE OF RABAT SUBSIDY AND OTHER ASSISTANCE IN SEVERAL MAJOR PROJECTS (NEW AIRPORT, ARMY REBUILD FACILITY AND OFFICERS' HOUSING). KING AWARE OF PROBLEM AND SAYS HE PLANS TO KEEP PUBLIC

INFORMED HOW RABAT SUBSIDY WILL BE SPENT. HE HAS MOVED ALREADY TO NIP POSSIBLE CORRUPTION IN ONE LARGE ARMY PURCHASE AND WE BELIEVE HE WILL BE PREPARED TO DO SO AGAIN. HE HAS ALSO ESTABLISHED A MILITARY INSPECTOR GENERAL REPORTING TO HIM ON MILITARY MORALE AND CORRUPTION, BUT WE DO NOT YET KNOW HOW WELL THIS WILL WORK. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC CONCERN OVER HOW LARGE INFLOWS WILL BE SPENT, PARTICULARLY SINCE PUBLIC ATTITUDE IS EXTREMELY CYNICAL OVER PAST USE OF SUCH EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE.

B) INFLATION: GOJ HAS USED RECENT INCREASES IN GOVERNMENT REVENUES PARTLY TO PROVIDE POLITICALLY POPULAR ACROSS-THE-BOARD CIVIL SERVICE AND MILITARY PAY INCREASES. (COST OF LIVING FOR CIVIL SERVANTS HAD RISEN 18 PERCENT IN 1974.) IN OUR JUDGEMENT, PAY INCREASE HAS BEEN MAJOR ELEMENT PRODUCING RECENT DECREASE IN CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT. DANGER OF COURSE IS GENERAL WAVE OF "ME TOO" DEMANDS FOR PAY INCREASES, ALREADY HINTED AT BY RETIRED OFFICERS AND SOME IN PRIVATE SECTOR. THUS FAR THIS IS BREWING, BUT HAS NOT OCCURRED. GOJ HAS PROMISED TO ACT FIRMLY TO HOLD PRICES DOWN, THREATENING OFFENDERS WITH STRONG ACTION.

C) DOMESTIC PALESTINIAN ISSUE: WHILE WE ARE IN POST-RABAT LULL, AS INDICATED ABOVE, THERE IS STILL CONCERN OVER JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN ISSUE AS WELL AS SOME CONFUSION IN PUBLIC OVER GOJ'S PRECISE OBJECTIVES ON WEST BANK AND ON LOCAL PALESTINIAN ISSUE. CURRENT ASSESSMENT IS THAT ITS FUTURE MAINLY WILL BE FUNCTION OF JORDANIAN REACTIONS TO EXTERNAL INTER-ARAB RELATIONS RATHER THAN OF INITIATIVE FROM DOMESTIC QUARTERS.

D) MIDEAST ISSUE: MONUMENTAL ISSUE IS OF COURSE FUTURE OF MIDEAST SITUATION. JORDANIANS ARE LESS IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED IN ACTIVE DIPLOMACY, MOST NOTEWORTHY RECENT INTEREST HERE HAS BEEN OVER U.S. STATEMENTS ABOUT CONTINGENCY USE OF FORCE IN GULF. JORDANIANS ALSO  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 AMMAN 00897 02 OF 02 051312Z

PERCEIVE CHANGES IN U.S. CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES WHICH SOME JORDANIANS SEE AS INCREASING PRESSURE ON ISRAEL FOR SETTLEMENT. JORDANIANS NEVERTHELESS WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORT CURRENT STAGE OF U.S. PEACE DIPLOMACY ALTHOUGH THEY ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO ITS ULTIMATE RESULTS. SECRETARY'S VISIT HAS MOMENTARILY RAISED PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS FOR ANOTHER STEP TOWARD PEACE AND POSTPONED GENERAL PREOCCUPATION WITH POSSIBILITY OF RESUMED MIDEAST HOSTILITIES.

11. IN CONCLUSION, JORDAN IS FOR MOMENT ON PLATEAU OF TRANQUILITY AS RESULT OF IMPROVED FINANCIAL PICTURE, TEMPORARY REMOVAL FROM HURLY-BURLY OF MIDEAST NEGOTIATIONS,

AND ABATEMENT OF IMMINENT WAR SCARE AT  
LEAST PENDING THE SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING TRIP. FUTURE COURSE  
OF EVENTS HOWEVER CRITICALLY DEPENDENT ON FURTHER PROGRESS  
TOWARDS PEACE IN MIDEAST. PICKERING

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, BRIEFING MATERIALS, POLITICAL SITUATION, MINISTERIAL VISITS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 05 FEB 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975AMMAN00897  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750041-1175  
**From:** AMMAN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750272/aaaacmkr.tel  
**Line Count:** 335  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NEA  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 14 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <14 MAY 2003 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <15 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** JORDAN THREE MONTHS AFTER RABAT SECRET  
**TAGS:** PFOR, JO, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006